

who were willing to pay to  
might buy her free!

[illegible]

TO THE RESULT AT CLEVELAND.

The spirit of this whole atrocity is revealed in the following editorial article from the *Leader* of the 23d of January :—

"The appointment of the corps of special deputies, whom Marshal Johnson yesterday swore into office, was a gross insult to Cleveland, and is so considered by all the better portion of our citizens. They do not feel aggrieved at the duty which has been imposed to preserve the peace, but that fifty-five men were appointed and invested with office, a majority of whom had no more idea of the duties pertaining to their post than to swing a club and knock down a vulgar colored man they could find. If deputies were to be appointed, why, in the name of all that is decent, could not men be called who had some respect for themselves and for the laws of the city? It would have been a great improvement if the call had been made, fifty, or one hundred, or one hundred and fifty business men could have been found, who would guarantee to preserve the peace; and such would not have been themselves, officers of the peace."

"Instead of this, what was done yesterday? One of these deputies struck a negro, not two feet distant from him, and was rebuffed, but went away aloof. Another of these deputies knocked an unoffending negro down, and was in the act of striking him again with a club, when one of the city police stopped the blow. Others of the deputies, whose chief delight it is to go into mischief, could not see the "glorious opportunity," they therefore, would surround a quiet, unoffending negro, jeer, push and hustle him until he was forced to defend himself, when they would strike him down with clubs, and thus insulted and abused a colored man who was looking on the crowd, and hailed him until an officer arrested him, (not them), and took him off to jail! I saw, ourselves, a deputy knock a poor fellow with a cane, and then, surrounded with the rest of the crowd, away from the officers,) and then hit him another heavy and cowardly blow after he was down. A Democrat who was a witness of the scene, said, 'I wish you would take down that colored man, and teased and pushed her until she pulled a handful of snuff out of her pocket, and threw it at us'; instantly, a score of deputies pounced upon her as if she was wicked, and carried her off to jail."

"Such are some of the official acts of these officers. In Heaven's name, if we are to have an infamous law forced upon us, let it be done in a Christian manner, (!) and let the officers be men of good character, who would as they would a brother sinner's death! Some of these men have been inmates of our jails and prisons."

COMMENT ON THE ABOVE.

So, it seems, the emissaries of slavery appreciated their own work, and chose their tools accordingly.

But why so indignant at the poor miscreants who were promoted to the honor of policemen for the occasion, and who were sent forth to beat down colored people, seeing what was done and doing to one of their own sisters, should show resentment, and even resistance. And it surely was not less natural that the newly commissioned officials should seek to magnify their honorable position, by knocking down colored men, and sending them to jail, and down their throats, and "knocking them after they were down, and teasing and pushing colored women," till they too resented, and then "pouncing upon them, and bearing them off to jail!" All this should have been expected.

These "appointments" were no "*insult to Cleveland!*" No indeed! The presence of the kidnappers had not all would have been a horrible "*insult to Cleveland,*" had not so many officials, high and low, and citizens of all classes and parties, accepted them as "*gentlemen,*" and worthy company for themselves, as well as Hotel guests.

It is true, that the presence of these few colored men, or temporarily imprisoning a few women, compared to the more awful outrage of consigning to dreary, interminable bondage, a poor, friendless, unfortunate young creature, under the paltry pretext of "paying homage to constitutional law?"—as witness the reported proceedings following:

JUDGE SPAULDING FROSTBATE.

Judge Spaulding said:—

"We are this day offering to the majesty of Constitutional Law, a homage that takes with it a virtual sacrifice, and that is, the sacrifice of every citizen, and is, I almost said, the contravention of a Christian's duty to his God!"

And at the close of the proceedings, the claim of the kidnapper having been allowed and his prey surrendered to him, William Slade, Esq., son of the late Governor Slade, of Vermont, offered resolutions, deprecating the violence of the proceedings, and saying, "If slave Law may be, the people of Cleveland will never resist it by force, nor allow it to be resisted!"

Judge Spaulding objected to the resolutions, but moved,

"That Marshal Johnson proceed to Wheeling tomorrow with the girl, accompanied by only two deputies, and that they should give unanimous assurance that she shall not be disturbed."

"The question was carried unanimously."

Such is the result of our eighty years of Republican and Christian government. Judges and lawyers are to sacrifice "the finest feelings of their nature," and their "duty to their God," to "Constitutional Law," say this first thing, and then "*unwisely*" after them. Such are our Patriotism and Piety.

But when was Judge Spaulding converted to the belief in the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law? Or did he not rather simply lie, daringly to his God, unashlingly to his own soul, in such an insinuation?

Or, suppose the law really constitutes it. Is it therefore to be obeyed, "against all the finer feelings of our nature," and "our duty to God"? Better men than Judge Spaulding were hung in Revolutionary times for howling to the "majesty of Conscience," and crying out against the "tyranny of the law." Had he lived in those scenes, and inculcated that sentiment, his crime and guilt would have been far less than to-day; but his fate might have been a Tory's halter, and a Tory's Mot on the page of history.

"That rivers of blood and patriotic blood might in a day have been spured, had men, and women too, only been willing to 'pay homage to the majesty of Constitutional Law'!"

A Constitutional Law of the ancient Assyrians required every female, at least once in her life, to pass herself through the furnace of Mylitta, in honor of that loathsome divinity. Had the king of Assyria lived then and there, would he have paid "homage to the law, or to its obscene goddess? Would he have accepted it for his mother, sister, wife, daughters, and daughters' daughters?"

No, truly, he would not. Hereby, Judge Spaulding and other Republican officials come lay the law of the American Union! And then to think that not one of them, though black as perdition with the guilt of the transaction, would even now dare be found in connection with the perpetration of such a crime, our American Sodom! And yet to save such a Union, Judge Spaulding could lay such a sacrifice on its reeking altar, and be himself a ministering priest





## FORWARDING THE PAY.

Thirty of the women of Ohio, feeling that those who did the work should receive the pay, signed and forwarded to the Cleveland Leader, as almoner to the company, the following address, together with a sheet of paper upon which were fastened thirty pieces of silver. These were covered with a sheet of tissue muslin, which, when raised, disclosed the blood-money, over which was the inscription,

## "JUDAS'S REWARD."

"Judas as ye did a new unto me of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to me."

To the Editors of the Cleveland Leader, Conductor Cleveland, the Republican officials and party members resident in Cleveland, who, without protest or hearty resistance, gave up to her claimant the slave girl Lucy, and, in fact, aided, abetted, apologized for, and defended the deed as a measure of commendable policy, necessary to propitiate the South, secure Northern riches, and preserve the Union:

The undersigned, freedom-loving women of Ohio, recognizing the fact that the "laborer is worthy of his hire," do herewith tender you the long-established reward for the highest treachery—*Thirty pieces of silver.*

Others may give you pay in gold,  
Commercial power, and party place;  
And with the robes of State enfold  
Your deed, indecipherable disgrace;  
Write Patriotism's name upon  
The shameless deed that ye have done.

Not such our pay. We send to you  
The fitting price—the just reward;  
As Judas did, so have ye too,  
For thirty pieces, sold your Lord:  
For when your fetters bound the limb  
Of that slave girl, you fettered Him!

Take them, and with them take the ban  
Laid on your deed, base and inhuman:  
Who thus disgrace the name of man,  
Deserve the deepest scorn of woman—  
A scorn that burns with holy zeal,  
Whose scorching breath all outcasts feel.

You offered to the fleeing slave  
A home, a shelter, and defense,  
And swore no negro-hunting knife  
Should ever dare to drag him thence;  
Boasted that you were brave and just,  
Yet traitors proved to Freedom's trust.

One came—in woman's weakness came,  
To shun the fate words may not tell,  
Fleeing from out a life of shame,  
From out the jaws of Slavery's hell:  
The bloodhounds followed on her track—  
False to your trust, you gave her back!

Ay! gloriol in the deed you did,  
And begged the South to note it well,  
How you, obedient to her bid,  
At Slavery's feet in homage fell;  
And claimed that as her will you do,  
Your rights shall be secured to you.

Here, take the price! With the reward  
Goes woman's scorn, intense and burning,  
That, like the angel's flaming sword,  
Will meet your path, wherever turning:  
We brand you false to God and man,  
And stamp you with the mark of Cain!

## ADDRESS TO CONDUCTOR CLEVELAND.

BY ANN CLARK, OF DEERFIELD, OHIO.  
Yes, servile tool, accept the case  
Oppression's minions have awarded!  
Thy will'st not be in vain—  
Thy cringing soul should be rewarded!  
Ay! bear it proudly through the State,  
And loudly boast to all abettors,  
"Was that that sealed poor Lucy's fate,  
And clinched again her galling fetters!"

Suspend aloft the childish boy,  
To testify that despots claim thee;  
Dance hireling! sold to their employ,  
While Freedom's friends abhor to name thee!  
But, though thy worldly pay increase,  
And approbative smiles are beaming,  
Yet Lucy's fate shall break thy peace,  
And Lucy's shadow haunt thy dreaming!

Now at the shrine of Slavery's god,  
And pay thy homage at his altar,  
Then kiss thy haughty master's rod,  
And swear allegiance to his altar:  
Piss onward, base, ignominious one,  
Owe thy masters to the letter,  
And keep the question thou hast won—  
(Though sure a whip had suited better!)

Then, when thou seek'st thy pleasant home,  
And thy loved children round thee gather,  
Remember, that the day may come  
When they may blush to call thee father!  
Say—can the paltry, gilded thing,  
Which to requite thy sin was given,  
From a roused conscience drive the sting?  
Or aid thy soul in finding heaven?

When thou gav'st Lucy and her child  
Back to revolting prostitution,  
Was thy bewildered soul beguiled  
With hopes to escape due retribution?  
Be not deceived! Jehovah reigns!  
Truth yet shall break all laws abhorrent!  
And such as thou, with Slavery's chains,  
Be swept away before its torrent.

Though Cleveland lack the dust in shame,  
Though Seward pander to oppression,  
Though Adams stain his honored name  
By weakly yielding to oppression;  
The Law of Justice onward rolls!  
The Great Supreme presiding o'er it;  
And human laws, and cringing souls,  
Shall to oblivion sink before it.

## TO THE CLEVELAND UNION-SAYERS.

AN APPEAL FROM ONE OF THE FUGITIVE'S OWN RACE.  
Men of Cleveland, had a volume  
Clutched a timid dove for prey,  
Would ye not, with human pity,  
Drive the gory bird away?

Had you seen a feeble lambkin  
Shrinking from a wolf so bold,  
Would ye not, to shield the trembler,  
In your arms have made its fold?

But when she, a hunted sister,  
Stretched her hands that you might save,  
Colder far than Zambala's regions  
Was the answer that ye gave.

On your Union's bloody altar  
Was your helpless victim laid;  
Mercy, truth, and justice shuddered,  
But your hands would give no aid.

And ye sent her back to torture,  
Stripped of freedom, robbed of right—  
Thrust the wretched, captive stranger  
Back to Slavery's gloomy night!

Sent her back where men may trample  
On her honor and her fame,  
And upon her lips so dusky  
Press the cup of woe and shame.

There is blood upon your city—  
Dark and dismal is the stain;  
And your hands would fail to cleanse it,  
Though you should Lake Erie drain.

There's a curse upon your Union!  
Fearful sounds are in the air;  
As if thunderbolts were forging  
Answers to the bondman's prayer.

Ye may bind your trembling victims,  
Like the heathen priests of old;  
And may harter manly honor  
For the Union and for gold.

But ye cannot stay the whirlwind,  
When the storm begins to break;  
And our God doth rise in judgment  
For the poor and needy's sake.

And your guilty, sin-cursed Union  
Shall be shaken to its base,  
Till ye learn that simple justice  
Is the right of every race.

FRANCIS ELLEN WATKINS HARPER.

## The Liberator.

## SPEECH,

Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Jan. 26th, 1861.

By J. B. SWASEY, Esq. of Boston.

I state the following proposition:—  
The States are already separated. It remains for them to conform to the fact.

The Union of these States, in its very nature, implies concord. It was made in concord, and falls asunder in discord.

Originally, slavery was on all hands denounced as wrong. The first steps were taken to remove it. It was barely recognized as an existing, but anomalous, exceptional and regretted fact, soon to cease altogether. On this common agreement of its limited and exceptional nature, it was assented, as temporarily incidental and necessary to its present exigencies, that fugitive slaves might be retaken anywhere, and insurrections might, if actually important enough to require it, demand aid from the nation.

In all this, there was no disagreement upon the main subject. There being no difference of opinion about any great moral question, and there being, in fact, entire harmony upon the only subject obnoxious to the general conscience, respecting which, as was thought, bounds had been placed and processes for its final destruction—Union, in truth, existed—existed all the more perfectly, since all desired, or seemed to desire, the complete establishment of government, strong in the affections of the whole people, and recognizing the equal rights of all (the rights of negroes only being deferred) to freedom of speech, of opinion, of worship, and all the other declared inalienable rights of man.

Now, at this time, one half the country continues to hold to the ideas once common to the whole. The North remains unalterably attached to the doctrines of the "Declaration," and to its original conviction of the wrong of slavery. But one half, also, the South, has for some time past ceased to hold to its faith in that grand act of '76; and, so far from remaining in their constitutional-time opinion respecting slavery, they now declare that which they then excused and deplored, and took strong measures to abate, to be ordained and blessed of God, and so, at all hazards, to be maintained, strengthened and perpetuated.

The South has radically changed its intellectual and moral judgment on a subject of vast importance, deeply touching the heart, and head, and conscience of every man; and along with this change, indeed necessarily incidental thereto, has also evolved, and set up as fundamental in government, principles wholly at war with those proclaimed in '76, and abhorrent to the people of the North, who in this, as in the matter of slavery, remain unalterably devoted to those early doctrines.

Thus concord—Union—is simply impossible. What remains? To recognize the fact, and act upon it. This is what is now demanded of the wisdom of the country.

But, no! As yet, few see or will see this. What then? Why, the anarchical system keeps on frightfully and ever more frightfully threatening to burst in horrid ruin upon the nation, and ever more hatefully parts keeping together, only to prolong their struggle for the mastery, the one over the other—seeking a peace in the subjugation of the one to the other, and not otherwise—a peace indeed impossible, unless we are to suppose men to be wholly insincere and false.

But, again, no!—because men at the North do not care enough about slavery to object to the demands of the South, to those demands they will cheerfully yield, if, by so doing, the States can be kept together. No doubt such men are—if all were such, then the subjugation of half the country to the other half would be complete; and the new revolution some while since begun, and at this moment in act, in the slave States, becomes accomplished. Were this even so, could peace continue to be? Surely not, unless our people are capable of a baseness scarcely paralleled in the history of civilized States.

Is it not too much to look for—this peace, the product of such baseness? Will statesmanship continue "to preserve the Union" by arrangements certain to be regarded by the awakening conscience of the people? To secure the Union, nothing short of the removal of the grand cause of protest will avail—unless, indeed, the very nature of a brave and free people has become corrupted, and fit only to vile uses.

But it is not possible to amend the fundamental law! In the particular required, the section to which it would apply accords all notion of the need. Amend a gollike and beneficent social system, so ennobling to one half, and so comforting, and cheering, and christianizing to the other! Amend, indeed!—it is at the North where the "mud-sill" need emendation, and raising into light and air!

The sections are divided. Practically, it is of little consequence why, unless, by knowing the cause, it may give a clue to some way to reunion. The most precise investigation into that cause only shows to him who will see, that the separation is a necessary result.

To restore a lasting peace to the continent, and to prevent the disasters of war, which, protracted however long, must end in treaty, those energies now wasted in futile efforts to keep formally together the present hostile States ought at once to be wholly exerted in the separation of the sections, and the adjustment, upon equitable grounds, of the various matters of boundaries, debt, public property and the like, and of future intercourse and neighborhood.

And, in this, if the dream, ever-much indulged in, of a country so vast and so populous, fails of realization, that may be easily passed over. No man who feels rightly will be proud of a State for its magnificent extent, nor for its countless millions. China, in both these, may take the palm. That is the true glory of a State which is the true glory of a man—at least, of an enlightened, free State. Men brave, industrious, intelligent, free, incapable, any more in the mass than the individual, of violating the clearest law of right, largely and systematically, upon any consideration.

And to what good purpose procrastinate the entire separation! Procrastination is here, as elsewhere, dangerous. Firm decision, and a calm attitude founded on well-settled conviction, only looking to perfecting measures for the new order of things—these will command respect. Once, the two sections see in each other's eyes the steady look of men who have simply certain transactions of necessary business to do with each other—once, the cold courtesy and cool dispatch of affairs between men whose claims and rights are no longer in angry dispute, succeed the endless criminations of an endless quarrel—the quarrel ceases: nothing remains but to arrange the necessary limitation and divisions of property, make their several bows and exits. Thereafterwards, both accountable only to the eternal rules of justice in their intercourse, "enemies in war, in peace," if not friends, at least civil acquaintances, with whom, if we do not care to associate, at least we can trade, and carry on the usual business of life. For if anybody cares, in such a great matter, to be curious about his ship, or his shoe traffic, or his cotton, or his rice, let him be sure that, in the long run, we shall buy where we can buy cheapest, and where we can get what we want; and they will do the very same. Cotton, and rice, and tobacco will be sold to them who can buy; and the ship and the carrier that can carry them swiftest and safest, will probably carry. New Orleans is as dependent upon the upper Mississippi States, as these are upon her, say, much more dependent.

Oh, hills of New England, valleys, fields! Oh, hardy shores, beating back the ever-recurring seas! Oh, brave men and dear women, children of them who felt noble emotions, and acted upon them—whose beloved—beloved, because in ye are the witnesses of heroisms—in ye, the promise of it. Shall we fail here in the vindication of those principles which found,

in feeble and poorer times, such steadfast and manly defence? No. The tide may ebb and flow—there may be flux and reflux—but the truth will be maintained. Though all else succumb, let not New England. Large enough for an empire, when MEN are to be counted—too small for a State, if standards are to be maintained—Union—what are they all but creations of man, designed to help him to grow into beauty and godlike power? When he finds, instead, they dwarf and bedevil, what shall he do but discard and renew?

Up, then, if need be, this our country's flag of freedom! Let it be everywhere a symbol of justice and liberty—seeking everywhere good neighborhood and peace—peace springing from the calm support and universal acknowledgment of those immutable laws which alike make the happiness of men and of nations!

"But is it not possible to amend—to bring about some settlement upon a permanent basis?" Let us see.

We, of course, think of an amendment looking to the removal of slavery; and, at this moment, they look to an amendment which shall perpetuate it! Can anything more strongly exhibit the utter impossibility of reaching a lasting peace?

"But, then, a majority of the people are determined to maintain the Union, though every 'nigger' should be tossed into the Gulf Stream." Not unlikely; but what sort of a Union is it which they will have maintained? A Union, smouldering like a huge, half-extinct volcano, ready, at any moment, to "break up" in more terrific explosions!

"Oh! but these abolitionists shall be put down!" One of the chief of those who make this declaration, a few years ago held to a very different opinion. Then, supporting the freedom of speech and the right of petition, standing in Congress with the venerable Adams, he made long sentences intended to be eloquent, that you might raze the cities of the North to their foundations; you might pass the plowshare over their sites; you might strew their very places with salt, and turn the smiling fields of happy industry into desolation; but the love of liberty you could never extinguish in their hearts. Never! no, no!—or to that effect. Does the Hon. Caleb Cushing think those Northern hearts will beat differently now? Now, when "desolation broods over our fair cities," and not when the slave-master threatens that he will certainly part from us, and leave us to the unspeakable wretchedness of the loss of his society? What stupid infidelity! Was that ambitious and restless man honest then? Is he honest now? Did he then have any faith in the professions and manliness of the Northern neighbors—in the children of the Puritans? If he did, what right has he to suppose that they have lost the very nature which he extolled? Has his own "change of heart" destroyed his moral sight, and even obliterated his memory? If he forget, the North does not, nor is its great heart a political weather-vane.

"But, the Union is in danger, and that is enough to justify any change." False and fatal statement! The Union in danger! Is it to be preserved by violating the principles of freedom for which our fathers, and our fathers' fathers, for several ages, have struggled, destroying the chief object for which the Union was made? Succeeded, and we preserve no Union; and yet, at what cost! We only take a master, and all become slaves! Does Mr. Cushing think that we will pay such a price for his Union? To suffer it to be eaten anew upon the old quarrel, and do over again, on the tremendous theatre of the New World, what our ancestors suffered and struggled for upon a narrower stage!

Run the dividing line—arrange the limitations and the division of the common property. Go ye to the South—hold up your heads in the light of this our day, and, in the sight of the world, flout your barbaric banner as best ye may! Why should we assist you in maintaining a system which we detest? Stand in the face of Christendom upon your own feet, and exhibit your power in its own lineaments! Let it no longer longer renowned from our fleets, glory from our arms and armies, respect from our civilization, and freedom and prestige from our imperial power! How grand, then, our position! Vast, free, honest; covering all the seas with our commerce, all the earth with the light of our name; cherishing in our "heaven-kissing" Temple of Liberty the oppressed of every land, and of every race!

Run the dividing line. Let peace thus be invoked, before war shall take the start, and after its horrors, make a true—called peace—resting upon the hot lava of unextinguished hate. Will you have peace now, or will you have, after war, only an enforced cessation of fight? Let statesmanship see to this! Unless we are mad, we shall recognize the fact: THE OLD PARTNERSHIP IS DISSOLVED.

The States are divided—and nothing remains but to establish the boundaries, and settle the common accounts.

"But, could we arrange for separate nations, war is sure soon to follow." Suppose so—shall we fight at once, for fear we may fight some other day? Place on record, in Congress, that the separation is a fact. The present government can be recognized for convenience, and its machinery go on as usual, until the two sections shall have adjusted the final treaty; meantime, both sections forbearing all warlike measures. Statesmanship should perceive facts, and mould its action to them. Give that energy to a solution of the present question of the hour—to wit, peaceful separation—which has been wasted on vain attempts to realize the unattainable peaceful Union; and who can doubt that peace would be avoided, and a powerful and free republic established? Or, if war must come, let it only come from the folly of those who, demanding, as of right they may, separation from us on equitable terms, become unreasonable enough, in the final arrangements, to require of us what in conscience we cannot yield. "Enough for the day is the evil thereof!" In our strength, we can be magnanimous. We have nothing to fear, nor of fear are we to take counsel. Making no objection to the retiring States, impregnable in our position, demanding nothing unjust, granting nothing wrong, vindicating the principles which have given us an honorable name, and one which we mean now and ever to be vindicated, we seek no quarrel, and we look for none.

The slave empire establishes itself—so, also, the empire of the free! God is over all!

## TRAITORS—PRIESTS—MOBS.

Well may the American patriot weep as he casts his eye over his distracted country; the parting of political ties; the derangement of commerce and finance; the prostration of national pride; to have fallen back into the category of nations which lack self-sustaining power; to have exhausted the vocabulary of wickedness and impudence have made us dizzy with success; to have failed in the experiment of the Union; to have cast a doubt over our boasted capacity of self-government, are all humiliating enough, though they self be attributed to that lack of wisdom which flows from inexperience. But when the representatives of the people, high in power and responsibility, either from the dullness of their moral perceptions, or from the inherent complication of their position and surroundings, know not, perhaps care not, which way to turn to find the path of duty, melancholy indeed is it; and would to God the blame could rest alone on them, and not travel on to those they represent!

"Like representatives, like people." How sad a spectacle that a President of these United States, and high officers of his Cabinet, should render themselves liable to the charge of complicity with desperate adventurers, who seek to overturn the government, after having solemnly sworn to administer that government in conformity with the Constitution! Both branches of the national legislature infested with traitors claiming the privileges of honored representatives, and usurping rights which the rebellious States they represent have forfeited by their

treasonable acts, and then, with unblushing effrontery and dishonesty, claim pay from the United States treasury for their treasonable deeds; voting on matters of business as members of Congress, while they despatch advice to their constituents to rob and plunder the property of the country they so abominably misrepresent! Governors of seceding States doing the work of robbers and pirates, not only without compunction, but imagining themselves to be heroes; and no visible power in God's world to impose a solitary check! So much for State officials, the embodiment of the wisdom of the people!

What of the Church? With the same inflexible Bible for authority, clergymen North and South, hailing from the same school of theology, the one by an electric chain of logic draws down the slave system from the skies, the other with a text fishes it up from the "vast deep." Both representing large masses of Christians, North and South; this "infallible" Bible, so plain that a "wayfaring man, though a fool," need not mistake its meaning, gathers over its pages gifted and eloquent priests to interpret its contents;—the same blessed God ruling over all,—and, with a similar theological training, they set themselves in opposition; and this sacred authority is made by them to declare that American slavery is at once both an angel from heaven and a fiend from hell! Well may such Scripture literalists hesitate to treat this subject in the pulpit. Thus Church and State, priests and representatives, religionists and citizens, like dried wood in mid-ocean, float hither and thither at the bidding of wind and wave. Under such uncertain moral and religious training, the people set up compromises to-day, and break them to-morrow. We prize of heroic deeds, and then turn coward. In high-sounding phrase we proclaim to the world our own sufficiency, our honor, our love of freedom, and then meanly trample out the rights of weaker nations. We boast of our love of civil and religious liberty, of free pulpits, free presses, and free speech, and then we strike down the exercise of this freedom by aid of a censorship no less than Austrian in its nature.

Citizens of the United States, sober, honest-hearted, intelligent citizens, assemble to discuss a great social question; and because, forthwith, in the estimation of a few special business interests, the discussion is unreasonable, a despicable mob collects, and hoots it down. This mob goes unwhipped of justice, because officials, whose duty it is to suppress it, are but the thing of its own creation. Not true and honorable merchants, but cotton, rum and money hucksters, seek to give the tone to morality and religion. Such as these would grasp the purse-strings in the great commercial cities; they would erect monopolies, dam up the currents of legitimate commerce, and divert wealth by artificial means to their own coffers, and call it business. They would own, if they could, the courts and lawyers, churches and jails, and compel these instrumentalities to do their bidding. Of priests, they would make Sabbath-day constables; of lawyers, pettifoggers. Sacred and statute books they would suffer to be opened only in the dim light of their materialized understandings. The discussion of great moral and social questions by the good and gifted must be suppressed, the salutes of the time, all about us, winked at; while far-off nations in the East, with their dim history and tradition, must furnish the staple for the pulpit; and all great principles, which alone regenerate and lift the world, and make us new, must be held subordinate to case-hardened expediency.

Is this the stock from which are to proceed the future citizens of these United States? Are these the men to inspire their age with lofty ideas, or infuse into coming generations the spirit of literature or the genius of art? Are such these the moulders of the destinies of millions yet unborn—the founders of systems of ethics, or the defenders of American liberty? Shall such as these dictate terms of speech to men who are to them as "Hyperion to a Satyr"? If so, then roll back the tide of time! Let the dark ages close over us, and suffer humanity to shed its last bitter tears over the grave of departed hopes! Let American Liberty, all beautiful as she is, fold her arms to a sleep that knows no waking, sound her death-knell, and lay her in the silent grave!

But this cannot be. A few days more of sorrow and tribulation, her fair form shall rise in beauty, and wave her wand gracefully, as in times past, over a nation which shall be purified by fire. Liberty—liberty, to think, to speak, to rise, to grow and develop, to look upward and onward, to raise up the oppressed, and to set the captive free—this is the liberty we need and claim. It must and shall be preserved. If we cannot have these, then let despotism come in its worst form—not in the shape of a despot, but of law, and let us have peace now, or will you have, after war, only an enforced cessation of fight? Let statesmanship see to this! Unless we are mad, we shall recognize the fact: THE OLD PARTNERSHIP IS DISSOLVED.

The States are divided—and nothing remains but to establish the boundaries, and settle the common accounts.

"But, could we arrange for separate nations, war is sure soon to follow." Suppose so—shall we fight at once, for fear we may fight some other day? Place on record, in Congress, that the separation is a fact. The present government can be recognized for convenience, and its machinery go on as usual, until the two sections shall have adjusted the final treaty; meantime, both sections forbearing all warlike measures. Statesmanship should perceive facts, and mould its action to them. Give that energy to a solution of the present question of the hour—to wit, peaceful separation—which has been wasted on vain attempts to realize the unattainable peaceful Union; and who can doubt that peace would be avoided, and a powerful and free republic established? Or, if war must come, let it only come from the folly of those who, demanding, as of right they may, separation from us on equitable terms, become unreasonable enough, in the final arrangements, to require of us what in conscience we cannot yield. "Enough for the day is the evil thereof!" In our strength, we can be magnanimous. We have nothing to fear, nor of fear are we to take counsel. Making no objection to the retiring States, impregnable in our position, demanding nothing unjust, granting nothing wrong, vindicating the principles which have given us an honorable name, and one which we mean now and ever to be vindicated, we seek no quarrel, and we look for none.

The slave empire establishes itself—so, also, the empire of the free! God is over all!

## THE MOB IN BOSTON.

Haverhill, Mass., Feb. 26, 1861.

FRIEND GARRISON: I wish to thank you for the "first rate notice" appended to an extract of a letter of mine dated at Cambridge, (in the last Liberator), and which was originally printed in the Tri-Weekly Publisher here, an independent and lively little sheet, which is to be commended for being less trammelled than the newspaper press generally in these troublous times. But my chief object in writing this letter is to indicate that when the letter from Cambridge was written, I had not seen the Boston Atlas and Bee, which I think spoke out manfully and nobly in opposition to both of the atrocious mobs in Boston, of which I was an eye-witness in both cases. If ever I felt utterly ashamed and disgusted, it was on both of these occasions, and I could not but feel the force of the remarks of that able and noble minister of the New Testament, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, that the man who trampled upon free speech upon the mother who bore him, or words to that effect. I wish to inquire of you, my worthy friend, whether it has ever happened before in this country, that peaceable meetings for a high moral purpose, composed chiefly of intelligent and humane men and women, in good part well-known non-resistants—in the latter case, at least—have been broken up within the short period of less than two months, and at both times by the connivance and instigation of the Mayors? I think not. It seems to me Boston has earned an infamy in this matter which she cannot very soon erase. The honest people in the country towns,—of which this, as you are aware, is one of the largest,—loathe and abhor the Satanic spirit which is so rife in that city; we cannot but feel that your flunkey "city of notions," for the time being, has this noble Old Commonwealth completely at bay! Yes, to borrow the expressive language of that noble and true woman, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, "A thousand or two of ill-bred and ignorant traders and manufacturers of slave products, who are rich enough to hire about an equal number of day-laborers no less ignorant and selfish," have put the public sentiment of the Bay State, political, moral and otherwise, at the most complete and rascally defiance. Look at the ignoble and unblushing effrontery of those mendacious and filthy characters, FAY, HOWE, and LAST, though not least, SLADE, the Senators! Notice their villainous rascality, buffoonery, and brazen audacity, before a Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and tell us if it is not high time that these wretched men and their more wretched tools were made to bite the dust. Had the Legislature of Massachusetts a spirit akin to that of their fathers, these wretched flunkies would have been drummed out of the State, and sent where the Boston tea went, long ago. God forgive me if I ever would, at any board, whether Senate or cup-board, sit in conference with such wretches as Slade and his Beacon street and Brookline nabobs, brokers and bankers. I never yet saw a dog but these apologies of humanity would disgrace in the comparison.

I hope and pray that the Legislature will put Boston upon her good behavior in the future; and if

they have not the pluck to do it, let the people of the country towns arise in their might, and see to it that neither Mayors nor mobs, whether ill or well dressed, shall succeed in gagging down free speech, no matter from what source it may come, hereafter.

Allow me to add, in conclusion, that we have had a series of Union meetings in the Town Hall here, on the matter of the hard times, or present stagnation of business, at which the slavery question has been discussed, pro and con. Rev. Mr. Hassall has sustained your position admirably on all these occasions. At one of these meetings, the writer of this read the series of capital resolutions the Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society have printed in a circular form, and moved their adoption by this town; but, I am sorry to say, no one had gumption enough to second them. On presenting them to the meeting, "a few feeble remarks" were made like this: "That they were prepared by the most eminent man in this State—a man, to use the language of our noble Senator Sumner, 'of the pure life and perfect integrity,' and the mover wished the town might have pluck enough to adopt them. But the presenter of these excellent resolutions did not press the point, because he would have been utterly ashamed to have had his native town reject them, even at a mongrel meeting like the one in question."

Measrs. Wright and Foss had very instructive and peaceable meetings here recently, which were respectfully attended, day and evening.

I was at Dover, N. H., last Sunday, and in the evening went to a meeting at the City Hall, which was fully attended, and at which speeches were made by the citizens generally. These meetings, I was told, were held last Sunday in every month, and have been continued for twenty years. Among those who spoke were Dr. Hill and Squire Hamlin, whose remarks were thoroughly anti-slavery and anti-compromising, sensible and emphatic, I assure you. But the speech of the evening was by Rev. Mr. Clark, of the Unitarian Church of Haverhill, Mass., which was exceedingly timely and eloquent. I wish such meetings could be held all over our State; it seems to me now would be the very time to inaugurate them—anti-slavery conference meetings they are, in fact; and I call your attention to this one, hoping others all over the free States may be stirred up in this way. What say you?

Wishing you vigorous health and long life, I sign myself,  
With much respect,  
A NORTHERN LABORER.

CONVENTION FOR THE INDIANS.

In accordance with a general call, the friends of the Indians met in Allston Hall, Boston, on the 26th of February. Father Beeson was chosen Chairman, and Richard Thayer, Secretary.

The Chairman opened the meeting by offering for consideration the following resolutions:—

1st Resolve. There is no law of nature or of necessity by which the Indians perish before the march of civilization.

2d Resolve. That the Indians are capable of attaining the arts of civilized life.

3d Resolve. That the interest and honor of the American people are deeply involved in the civilization and protection of the Indian race.

4th Resolve. That peace commissioners of well selected persons, should be sent to every tribe in our States and Territories, to ascertain the nature and extent of existing difficulties, with a view to a final settlement in accordance with equity and justice.

5th Resolve. That a committee be appointed to apply to the proper departments at Washington for authority and means to carry out the foregoing.

He remarked that it is commonly said that, with the disappearance of the forest and the buffalo, the Indian fades away from the land, and that so common is this idea that it seems stereotyped in the minds of all classes of society. We are told that there is a fixed law of nature, established by God himself, that the Indian shall perish before the march of civilization, and that the strong will overpower the weak, the big fish devour the smaller, and that we see this law in force throughout all nature.

The Chairman admitted that all this is true, as applied to brute law, but not applicable to the true and higher nature of man. The strong brute may brutally push away his fellow from the comforts provided alike for both; and men in all ages and nations, who are under the animal instead of the true human law, do the same towards their brother man.

But the legitimate effect of a true civilization and religion is to reverse this sentiment and practice, by inspiring sympathy for the sufferer, and causing the strong to bear the burdens of the weak, "AND SO FULFILL THE LAW OF CHRIST." Webster defines civilization to consist in being AFFABLE, COURTEOUS, GENTLE AND KIND. Now, although it is compatible with these qualities that, so far as we require, the forests may be cleared away, and the buffaloes may be destroyed, yet it is utterly impossible that the exercise of these qualities should destroy, or even hurt, any human being. Hence, those who speak of Indians "perishing" before "civilization," misapply the term; and for Christians, and especially Christian pastors, to do so, seems to me incomprehensible.

They tell us to look to facts. "Have not the Indians faded away," say they, "from the landing of our Pilgrim Fathers to the present time?" Let us look at PRINCIPLES. A Christian civilization, for the promotion of which there are fifty thousand pastors in the United States, besides authors and professors, and organizations almost without number, works no ill to its neighbor; it is gentle, easy to be entreated, thinketh no evil, suffereth long, is kind, and is full of mercy and good works. It is certain, absolutely certain, that the outworking of these principles will clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and ensure homes for the homeless. Nothing less than this is the gospel of glad tidings which Christ intended should be preached to "the poor" throughout all the world; and could it be offered to the Indians in sincerity and good faith, instead of the creeds and curses which they get, there is not one among the race but would receive it gladly.

But the fact that, instead of this, the Indians upon our frontiers are robbed, and poisoned, and starved, and massacred, and made savage by the savageness of their treatment, is a demonstrative proof that the principles of Christianity are not applied or sustained; and it is obvious to every candid mind that they never can be, so long as those who are high in authority are continually harping about the Indian's destiny to perish before "civilization," and at the same time seem satisfied (for aught they do) with the spread of such a civilization.

The Reports of the Methodist Conference, in Oregon, published in 1856, tell that the Indians in that Territory were still in their nakedness, their pollution and misery, as when the first missionaries set their feet upon those shores. We also learn that, at that very time, the Church had schools and colleges from the extreme North to the extreme South, with sufficient educational facilities to instruct all the people.